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# Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
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O 090826Z APR 75
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9286

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 4637

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (MIYAZAWA, KIICHI)
SUBJ: MIYAZAWA VISIT: AGENDA-INDOCHINA

REF: A) TOKYO 3900; B) TOKYO 4357; C) TOKYO 4424; D) TOKYO 4506

1. REFTELS REPORT EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE AND FONOFF ASSESS-
MENTS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA. ALTHOUGH WE ARE UNSURE
OF EXACT TERMS IN WHICH FONMIN WILL DISCUSS INDOCHINA POLICY
WITH THE SECRETARY, AS BACKGROUND, WE HAVE CONSTRUCTED
THROUGH A VARIETY OF SOURCES WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE A
MOSAIC OF MIYAZAWA'S VIEWS. SOURCES INCLUDE PRESS ASSESSMENTS,
LEAKS TO PRESS, CONVERSATIONS WITH ALL LEVELS OF FONOFF,
AND REMARKS BY MIYAZAWA HIMSELF TO THE DIET. PICTURE
WHICH EMERGES FOLLOWS:

2. FROM JANUARY 1973, JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD INDOCHINA WAS
BASED ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE VIABILITY OF THE PARIS ACCORDS.
IN ANTICIPATION OF LATER SIMILAR MOVES B.9##3 7 , GOJ MOVED
TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH HANOI. JAPAN ANTICIPATED
ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND INSURGENT FORCES IN
KHMER AND SVN BUT REGARDED INSURGENTS IN KHMER AND SVN
AS "WAVES OF THE FUTURE". NVERTHELESS, MIYAZAWA WAS
STUNNED BY THE "STRATEGIC RETREAT" ORDERED BY PRES THIEU
AND THE DEBACLE WHICH FOLLOWED. MIYAZAWA BELIEVES THAT
THIEU'S DECISION AS WELL AS NVN'S MOVES AGAINST GVN'S
PROVINCIAL CAPITALS AND TERRITORY STEMMED AT LEAST IN
PART FROM ASSESSMENTS IN HANOI AND SAIGON THAT US CONGRESSIONAL
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AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES WOULD NOT TOLERATE US MILITARY INTER-

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VENTION OR ADDITIONAL MILITARY AID TO THE GVN.

3. THIEU'S DECISION WAS CATASTROPHIC AND HE MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DISASTROUS RESULTS. DESPITE FONMIN'S HOPES TO THE CONTRARY, MIYAZAWA SEES ALMOST NO CHANCE OF THE GVN'S REGAINING EITHER LOST TERRITORY OR EVEN OF MAINTAINING TERRITORY NOW NOMINALLY UNDER GVN CONTROL. GOJ WILL PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF FOR REFUGEES THROUGH INTERNATIONAL RED CROSG (INDOCHINA OPS GROUP) TO SVN, BALANCING ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN GVN-CONTROLLED AREAS WITH ASSISTANCE ALSO TO REFUGEES IN GVN AND IN PRG-CONTROLLED AREAS OF SVN. GOJ WILL NOT PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF LOAN AND GRANT ASSISTANCE TO GVN UNTILL EFFECTIVE GVN RESISTANCE IS EVIDENT AND THE SITUATION STABILIZES. HOWEVER, EVEN SHOULD THE GVN BE ABLE TO REASSERT SUCH CONTROL, MIYAZAWA WOULD STILL HOPE THE GVN WOULD RECOGNIZE THE ULTIMATE UNTENABILITY OF ITS POSITION, TAKE ACTIVE MEASURES TO ADJUST TO THIS REALITY, AND REACH AN ACCOMMODATION WITH INSURGENT FORCES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

4. KHMER IS LOST TO THE INSURGENTS. ONLY REMAINING QUESTION IS MANNER OF SURRENDER AND TRANSFER OF POWER TO ADMINISTRATION AT LEAST INITIALLY UNDER TITULAR LEADERSHIP OF SIHANOUK, BUT IN FACT UNDER KHMER ROUGE DOMINATION. IN RESPONSE TO SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST DEMANDS FOR IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION OF GRUNK AND PRG, MIYAZAWA INFORMED THE DIET APRIL 7 THAT THE GOJ WOULD PROBABLY WAIT UNTIL GRUNK HAD MOVED INTO PHNOM PENH AND THEN SIMPLY REINSTATE THE JAPANESE EMBASSY IN PHNOM PENH, PRESUMABLY WITHOUT FORMAL MOVES OF RECOGNITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. IN FACT, GOJ WILL ACCEPT WHATEVER REGIMES MAY EMERGE IN PHNOM PENH, SAIGON AND VIENTIANE. THOSE REGIMES ARE EXPECTED TO BE SOCIALISTIC BUT, EVEN MORE, THEY WILL BE NATIONALISTIC.

5. MIYAZAWA ALSO ACCEPTS THE INEVITABILITY OF THE ASCENDANCE OF HANOI TO A PRE-EMINENT POSITION IN INDOCHINA. HE IS RESIGNED TO THIS DEVELOPMENT AND WILL ACCOMMODATE POLICIES THERETO. DESPITE HANOI'S RECENT OFFENSIVE, JAPAN WILL PROCEED IN DUE COURSE WITH OPENING ITS EMBASSY IN THE DRV AND
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WITH NEGOTIATIONS TO EXTEND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO NVM.

6. THROUGH CONVERSATIONS WITH SE ASIAN LEADERS, MOST RECENTLY SIGNAPORE'S FONMIN RAJARATHAM, MIYAZAWA PERCEIVES THAT ASEAN LEADERS GENERALLY SHARE HIS VIEW THAT FOLLOWING THE '73 PEACE ACCORDS, HANOI'S AND COMMUNIST DOMINANCE IN INDOCHINA WERE INEVITABLE. AS FOR EFFECTS ON ASEAN NATIONS, ALTHOUGH THE PACE OF "BENDING WITH THE WIND" BY THAILAND

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IS EXPECTED TO ACCELERATE AND PERHAPS THE INSURGENCY THERE WILL BE ENCOURAGED BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA, THIS TENDANCY PREDATES THE CURRENT DEBACLE IN SVN. OTHER ASEAN STATES WILL BE LESS DIRECTLY AFFECTED AND, MIYAZAWA THINKS, THEY CAN ACCOMMODATE TO COMMUNIST RULE IN INDOCHINA. INDEED, ASEAN GOVERNMENTS WILL HASTEN TO TO SO. MIYAZAWA IS ALSO REPORTEDLY INTERESTED IN AN "ASIAN FORUM", THROUGH WHICH JAPAN AND ASEAN STATES WOULD EXERT EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE TO INDOCHINA AND PROMOTE REGIONAL STABILITY BASED ON PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

7. FINALLY, WE BELIEVE MIYAZAWA DRAWS NO INFERENCES FOR US-JAPAN SECURITY TIES FROM DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA. HE APPRECIATES THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY AND ASSURANCES WE HAVE GIVEN GOVERNMENTS IN SAIGON AND PHNOM PENH. HE ALSO REPORTEDLY TOLD ROK FONMIN KIM DONG-JO LAST WEEK THAT US SECURITY AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN INDOCHINA ARE "PERIPHERAL" WHEREAS JAPAN AND ROK ARE "VITAL" TO US NATIONAL SECURITY AND US GLOBAL STRATEGIC THINKING AND PLANS.
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